

THE
LIVERY-MAN:
OR, PLAIN
THOUGHTS
ON
PUBLICK AFFAIRS.

[Price One Shilling.]

*71-1855

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IN WHICH

The present SITUATION of THINGS, some late WRITINGS concerning the LIBERTY of the PRESS, the GENERAL DISPOSITION of the PEOPLE, the INSULTS offered to the CITY of LONDON, and the true Nature and infallible Characteristicks of PUBLIC SPIRIT, in Contradistinction to that of a FACTION, are consider'd and explain'd.

Addressed to the LOVERS of TRUTH and LIBERTY.

————— *Velocius & citius nos*
Corrumpunt vitiorum exempla domestica magnis
Cum subeant animos auctoribus.——JUVEN. Sat. xiv.

It is surely a great Sickness of the Mind, when a Man gives up his Birth-right in Exchange of something else, that depends upon another Man's Breath; and he must be beside his Wits, who little esteems his Liberty, which is the thing that chiefly distinguishes him from a Beast.

Earl of WARRINGTON's Charge to the
Grand Jury of CHESTER, 1693.

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Printed for JAMES SMITH, near the Temple; and
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M.DCC.XL.

THE LIVERY-MAN OR THOUGHTS ON PUBLIC AFFAIRS IN WHICH

The present situation of things, the
state of the country, the
of the Press, the General Disposition
of the People, the Interest of the
City of LONDON, and the
and the whole of the
LICK SPENT, in Connection to that
of Action, are considered and explained.

Attributed to the Author of the Livery-Man.

Printed by J. Smith, in the Strand, near the Theatre Royal, and
sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster.
MDCCLXXII.

LONDON.

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sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster.
MDCCLXXII.



T O
A MOST NOBLE
PATRIOT.

IF I had intended to have filled this Address with the common Flowers of Flattery, which are too frequently scatter'd in Dedications to the Great, I should undoubtedly have graced my Page with a long List of Titles. But alas! what are these to a Man whose Virtues set him above all Titles, and who is ready, on every Occasion, to confess, that good Qualities are the sole Marks of true Nobility; they would be so far from meriting your Acceptance, that they would no doubt incur your just Displeasure.

THE Design of the following Pages is to vindicate the Rights of a Free People, from the Mistakes, or rather Misrepresentations of some who would make their own Notions of Government the Standard of this Nation ; tho' they are but indifferently qualified, if we may guess from their Writings, to tell us so much as what their Notions are : Upon which, however, they would ground a Doctrine of Persecution ; and because they make so bad a Use of the Press themselves, would very gladly take the Use of it from others.

I F, in treating this Subject, the Principles of any Party had been particularly recommended, any private Prejudices gratified, or so much as a single Stroke of personal Reflection had escaped therein, such a Dedication as this would have been equally absurd and unpardonable. But where the Cause

Cause is the Cause of the Publick, and where, in the Management of it, Truth and Decency have been constantly regarded, it is hoped, that this Presumption of addressing it to you, will appear an excusable Mark of Zeal towards ONE already honour'd with universal Affection. For it must be allow'd, that there is an Applause justly attendant on, tho', according to your own Maxim, there may be no Merit in, doing one's Duty; especially when that Duty regards our Country, from whom we receive all, and for whose Use we ought to receive it.

*AS the present Situation of Things renders such Discourses as these necessary; so Custom not altogether unfounded on Reason, makes Dedications of this sort seasonable: For as a Patron is necessary to support a Man in every little Undertaking, it becomes him who speaks to the Publick, to make choice of
such*

*such a Patron as may be both a Decus
& Præsidium, a Protector and an Or-
nament to his Labours; which is all I
shall offer further in my Defence.*

*THAT you may persevere in those
glorious Sentiments, which render you
so amiable in the Eyes of all good
Men; and that Providence may crown
with Success whatever Views you may
have for the Safety, Interest, and Ho-
nour of our Country, is the humble
and sincere Wish of,*

Your devoted Servant,

The AUTHOR.



FREE
THOUGHTS
ON
PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

THERE is nothing more common than to hear Complaints made of the Want of *Publick Spirit* in this Age. A Complaint, the Importance of which is little considered even by those who make it. A *Publick Spirit* is the *Soul of Society*, and whenever it is lost, the *vital Heat* is extinguish'd. The outward Form of the *State* may indeed remain, yet is it no longer a *Body*, but a *Carcase*. It is however certain, that the Complaint just now mentioned is very far from being well founded. We have at this instant as much *Publick Spirit* in the *Nation* as at any time heretofore; and the Reason why so many are of a contrary Opinion, is because our *Publick Spirit* is not properly directed. We revere *Patriotism* as the *Athenians* worshipped the *unknown*

B

God,

God, from a general Sense of its *Excellence*, tho' we do not seem to form any clear and distinct *Notions* of it. In the last Century, our *Ancestors* were distracted by a *Zeal* without *Knowledge* for *Religion*; and in this, the *Love* of our *Country* seems to be producing the *same Effect*. The *Body* of the *Nation* is certainly well affected to its *true Interest*, if the *Rage* and *Arts* of *Parties* would give them leave to see what *it is*: and as for that Handful of *self-interested Men*, who, by a continued Practice of *false Politicks*, have, by multiplying *Expedients*, embarrassed Things beyond Description; they owe their present *Safety* not so much to their *Abilities* in that *subdolous Science*, as to the Want of *Union*, *Resolution*, and a just *Sense* of their own *Concern* in those who seek to deliver their *Country*.

THE *Design* of the following Pages is plainly this: To show that the People of Britain in general have an undubitable Right to canvass publick Affairs, to express their Sentiments freely, and to declare their Sense of any Grievances under which they labour. To many this may seem a very unnecessary Proceeding; but I am confident those who maturely weigh some late Attempts to place the legal and natural Methods of testifying their Opinions, which the *Inhabitants* of the greatest City in these Kingdoms have made use of, as Instances of *Sedition*, and departing from the *Decency* they ought to have preserved: I say, those

whoever reflects upon this, will see the Utility of my *Design*, and confess that it is a proper *Introduction* to the *Practice* of true *Patriotism*. There is nothing more opposite than a *publick* and a *sedition Spirit*, and yet it has been, and ever will be the Business of the *Flatterers* of all *Administrations*, to confound them: But where they succeed, the *Danger* is not so great to those whom they *traduce*, as to those whom they *delude*. The *Body* of a *Nation* may be *trampled* upon for a while, but those who venture to do this, must *pay* for it at *last*. If the wise *Philip II.* of *Spain* had listned to the *publick-spirited Remonstrances* of his *Subjects*, he had kept the *Netherlands*. If *James* the *Third* of *Scotland* had comply'd with the repeated *Solicitations* of his *Nobility*, he had escap'd a *violent Death* himself, and had spar'd his *Son* an *Iron Chain*; and if our King *James* the *Second* had rely'd upon his *People*, instead of his *Ministers* and his *Army*, he had never (to use his Brother's Phrase) *travelled a second Time*, liv'd on *Charity*, and died in *Indigence*. The *Examples* of *Princes* strike forcibly, and therefore I'll use them; for if *they* cannot avoid feeling the *Effects* of *determin'd Obstinacy*, it must certainly fall heavier on *meaner Men*. In vain therefore do those *Insects*, which are bred out of the *Corruption* of *Power*, seek to take away the *Fear* of *Publick Spirit*, by giving it *other*, and those *odious Names*. *Trees* are

known by their *Fruit*, and *Things* by their *Effects*; whence tho' we may have a backward *Season*, it certainly comes to pass that *Publick Spirit*, sooner or later, brings forth *publick Justice* and *publick Happiness*.

WHILE the *Kings of England* liv'd on their own *Estates*, and, except the *Necessities* of the *Nation* requir'd it, ask'd no *Aids* of their *People*, one might have imagin'd that a *Court Orator* might have found plausible *Arguments* to prove that the *Commons* had no *Right* to meddle with his *Administration*. In those *Days*, however, *Men's Wits* were not so quick. For it stands on the *Parliament Rolls*, That in the 3^d of *Edward II.* the King made a *Reform* of his *Houſhold*, on the *Petition*, and for the *Ease* of his *People*, according to the *juſt* and *equitable Oath* by him taken at his *Coronation*. In the 36th of *Edward III.* the ſame thing was done. In the 1^{ſt} of *Richard II.* the *Commons* petitioned for *Redreſs* in this reſpect, and thereupon a *Commiſſion* iſſued to ſurvey and abate the *Houſhold*; which not taking *Effect*, the *People* petition'd again in the 5th of his *Reign*, and were fully relieved. *Henry IV.* owing his *Crown* to the *Voice* of the *People*, they dealt very freely in their *Addreſſes* to him, and in the 4th Year of his *Reign*, deſired he would imitate his *Predeceſſors*, in making a *Reform*, that (to uſe the *Words* of the *Petition*) you may live upon what is your own, and give *eaſe* to your *People*. This
the

the King comply'd with, and settled the Expence of his Household at *Sixteen thousand Merks per annum*. Thus it appears that our Nation had always a proper measure of *Publick Spirit*, and exerted it as the *Circumstances* of the Times directed. I know it will be said, that the *Commons* and the *People*, in such Cases, is to be understood of the *Parliament*, that is, of the *Lower House*; which is true: but that does not justify an Inference some *Court-Writers* would draw from thence, viz. That when by the Word *People* we do not understand the *Commons* in *Parliament assembled*, we mean the *Mob*. But this is a *vague Term*, and fit only for such *Writers* to use, as have gloried in calling the *Citizens* of *London* *sturdy Beggars*.

WHEN the *Lower House* of *Parliament* petition'd any of these *Kings* about the Expences of their *Household*, they did it by way of *Prevention*; that the King might not be reduced to the Necessity either of *straining* to a Degree of *Oppression* the *Laws* which provided for the *Support* of the *Crown*, or be obliged to demand *Assistance* from his *People*, to rectify the Confusions produced thro' *Extravagance* in his *domestick Concerns*. But this they were prompted to by those whom they *represented*. In those Days the *Members* were actually resident in the Time of *Vacation* in the *Places* for which they *serv'd*; and so they were obliged to be by *Law*, which gave them

an Opportunity of *knowing* the *Minds* of their *Constituents*, and render'd it impossible that any Part of the *Kingdom* should be *aggriev'd*, without some of the *Members* having it in their *power* to acquaint the House with it of their *own Knowledge*. But when they received these *Applications*, which afterwards in *Parliament* they digested into *Petitions*, had the *Commons* no *Right* to make them? or if they *had*, does it not plainly appear that the *Commons* of *England* have their *Rights* out of *Parliament*, as well as their *Representatives* have in it? Nay, does not our *History* point this out in a *hundred* different Places? Does it not appear that the Word *Commons* is used, as many other Words are, in *two* Senses, the one *general*, the other *restrain'd*; the *former* referring to the *People* of *England* in their *collective*, the *latter* to the *same People* in their *legislative Capacity*. To say the Truth, there can be nothing more *absurd* than to admit *great* and *eminent Rights* in the *House of Commons*, and yet say that there is no *resident Right* in those who *constitute* that *House*. And this *Point* hath been so thoroughly *settled* by the *Revolution*, and by the Acts pass'd in the *first Parliament* after the *Revolution*, that it is amazing to see Folks who call themselves *Friends to Liberty*, treating the *People* daily in Terms of *Disrespect*; a Thing utterly *inconsistent* with the *Idea* we have of a *free People*, which as yet these very Men *dare not deny us to be*.

THE last Subterfuge of these *Apologists* for Power, is, That they intend only the *meaner Sort*, such as they apprehend to have no *Votes* in *Elections*, and but a very small measure of *Property*. To this Purpose I think *some* of these *Gentlemen* have lately explained themselves, and have thereby in *this*, as in many other *Cases*, shown plainly that they know *not* what they *mean*; that they are a *Set* of *Syphi*, condemned to the intolerable Labour, not of rolling a *Stone* up a *Hill*, but of maintaining *Absurdities*, proving *Falshoods*, and supporting *Contradictions*; a Race of *Writers* doom'd to make themselves *ridiculous*, and to show the *Weakness* of that Cause their Folly has led them to *espouse*. For after all, where are these *mean People*? Is there a *Man* in *England* who does not either *drink Beer*, wear *Shoes*, or now and then *smoak a Pipe* of *Tobacco*? Can he do any of these without contributing to the *Support* of the *Government*? and is it not a fine *Complement* to the *Government* to say, that it is *supported* by the *Mob*? Besides, all who *support a Thing*, have a *natural Interest* in the *Thing* they *support*; and as we cannot eat, drink, or wear, without paying towards the *publick Expence*, it follows that every the *meanest Man* in the *Kingdom* has an *Interest* in the *Publick*. To carry this farther still, the *Sages* in the *Law* tell us, that *certain Liberties* and *Privileges* are our *Birth-right*. But the *Birth-right* of whom? Why,
of

of the *Son* of the *Peasant* as well as of the *Peer*, of the *Honest Man* who lost his *last Shilling* in 1720, as well as of the infamous *Director*, who got by *Fraud*, and has by *Perjury* kept *Thousands* and *Ten Thousands*. The *Statutes*, in this Case, make no *Distinction*; we are alike *Subjects* to our *Prince*, we have all alike a *Right* to *Redress* if we are *injured*; the *Brother* of a *Beggar* has an *Appeal* of *Murder*, if his *Brother-Beggar* be killed: Where then do these Gentlemen find those who are the *proper Objects* of their *ill Language*? It is scarce to be accounted for, that in a Country where every Man is bound to be *useful* to the *State*, and really is *so*, let his *Condition of Life* be what it will, those who pretend to be *Engines* of *State*, should think themselves at liberty to *vilify him* for not thinking as *they do*, or pretend to *do*; who have no more *Right* to prescribe to him what he shall *think*, than they have to settle what he should *eat*, or what he should *wear*; and who in assuming this *Power* to themselves, more discredit *those* whom they pretend to *defend*, than the *keenest Wit*, supported by the most *malicious Disposition*, could contrive to do by any *other Method*.

THESE *Friends to Innuendo's*, by that time they have read *these Pages*, will believe me, or at least represent me to be absolutely an *Incendiary*, a *Disturber* of the *People*, and an *Enemy* to the *Administration*. Yet as their
Credit

Credit is pretty *low*, I am apt to think what I have to offer, will purge me from all those Accusations which are commonly brought against such as are *Friends* of the *People*. One may safely affirm, that treating *political* Subjects *freely* in *Print*, and thereby submitting them to the View and Censure of the *Nation* in *general*, is so far from being dangerous, that it is really conducive to the *publick Peace*. By this means, all *Degrees* of *People*, who have Leisure and Abilities, and a Turn to this sort of Reading, acquire *rational Ideas* of *Liberty* and *Submission*, of the *Rights* of the *Church*, and of the *Power* of the *State*, of their *Duties* as *Subjects*, and of what they may justly *claim* as *Freemen*. Thus it is put absolutely out of the Power even of the *greatest Man* in *Estate*, or *Abilities*, to withdraw any *Number* of his *Neighbours* from their *Allegiance* to their *Prince*, or their *Attachment* to the *Interest* of their *Country*, by dint of his *personal Influence* or *artful Discourses*, which was a thing common in former Times, when the *Clergy* and Men of *Estates* had all this sort of *Learning* especially in their own hands, and made *Tools* of their *Neighbours*, tho' the *Law* made them their *Equals*. Hence it is, that since the *Revolution* there never was, till within these few Years, any *Stirs* or *Tumults* among the *People*; for as to *Disputes* at *Elections*, and such like *Party-Bickerings*, they are the *Effects* of our *Liberty*,
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and

and like the kindly, tho' troublesome *Eruptions* in the *Spring*, carry off much greater *Evils* than they *occasion*. An ignorant *People* can never be *rely'd on*; whereas a *Nation* well instructed in its own *Interest*, cannot but be attach'd to every *Prince* and every *Ministry* that pursues them. In contending therefore for the indefeasible Right of the *People*, there cannot be the least Intention to make them *uneasy* or *discontented* with the *Government*; because our *Government* is such a one, as nothing but *Ignorance* can make Men dislike it. If indeed any *Set* of *Men* amongst us had formed a Design of *changing* the *Government* by degrees, it would be their *Interest* to promote the *Propagation* of *political Ignorance*: But except such a *Set* of *Men* should arise, *Men* in *Power* will be always most willing to promote *Enquiries*, as *Men* of *Fortune* are most ready to produce their *Books*. Such as are conscious to themselves of having meddled with *nothing* which they did not *understand*, and of having done *nothing* which is not *perfectly right*, will never stile Men either *seditionous* or *unreasonable* for looking into their *Conduct*, because the *Trouble* belongs to them who enquire, and the *Praise* is wholly *theirs*. A *stupid People* may admire a *bad Ministry*, nay, generally speaking, they will *do it*; but that a *free, wise, and brave People*, should, after mature *Deliberation*, *dislike, censure, and persecute* an *upright Administration*, is a Proposition

position which no *Writers* will maintain, but such as are ready to maintain any thing.

THERE is indeed one great Evil to which a *free People* may by this means be liable ; and I think it is so *improbable*, that it ever should fall out amongst us, that I shall mention it freely, since I am positive it can give no *Party* offence. This then is the *Mischief*. If after freely debating *National Points*, the *People* should unanimously be of one *Opinion*, and those in the *Government* generally and obstinately in another ; this would produce *Epidemic Corruption* and *Universal Carelessness* of *publick Affairs*. For as in private *Families*, when those who should manage them, take Measures evidently *wrong*, and instead of keeping up their *Dignity*, and setting a good Example, digress, without reserve, into all the *Paths* of *Vice* and *Folly*, their *Servants*, tho' sorry and concerned at first, quickly follow their *Steps*, and contrive to *drown* in one *Excess* the Memory of another. So in greater *Societies*, in *States*, *Principalities*, and *Kingdoms*, if Men at the Helm have no regard to *Character*, discourage *publick Spirit*, and pursue only what they take to be their *particular Interests*; the *People*, in a Fit of Madness, will immerse themselves in *Luxury*. And to this Case we may fitly apply that Saying in the *Scripture*, *Woe be to HIM by whom Offence cometh*. But as I said, it is so improbable that this ever should happen among a

free People, that we need not fear it. In all our History we can meet with but *one Instance* which looks like it; and that is the *Expedition* to the *Isle of Rhée*, in the Reign of K. *Charles I.* when the *Point* which most nearly concerned the *Honour* and *Interest* of this *Nation* was intrusted to *one* whom the *Nation* universally *disliked*; I mean that *great Favourite*, the first Duke of *Buckingham*, of the Name of *Villiers*; a Man, who if he had had, either *Sagacity* or *Discretion* equal to *any* of the great *Posts* he possess'd, would, by a timely *Resignation* of his too *formidable Authority*, have declined the *Knife* of *Felton*, and saved his *Master* those *Troubles* which, in spite of his own *Virtues*, were brought upon him by his *Servants Faults*. But to take leave of this *Digression*, and to return to our first *Purpose*.

IN order thoroughly to understand the Subject of which we treat, it is necessary to explain what we mean by calling a Nation *free*. And this we shall do in very few Words. *That Nation is free, where the Government acts for the Good of the Whole, and those Nations are Slaves, where such as are intrusted with the Government mind no body's Benefit but their own.* Hence it clearly appears, that where a Nation has an uncontested Right to *Freedom*, there that Nation hath the same Right to *canvass* publick Affairs. For wherever Folks have a *Right* to a *Thing*,

Thing, they have a *Right* to the *Means* of keeping it. Now if the People had no *Right* to *canvass* publick Affairs, they might be deprived of their *Freedom* before they were aware; and of course they cannot be defeated of this other *Right*, because it is necessary to the Preservation of that to which their *Title* is *incontested*. This was precisely the Case at the *Revolution*. King *James* never declared that he intended to make his Subjects *Slaves*, but the People conjectur'd from his *Conduct* in *publick Affairs*, that such was his Intention. On this, they grounded the *Steps* which they thought necessary for securing their *Rights*; and it is very remarkable that this *great Event* was brought about not by the *Parliament*, by the *Freeholders*, or by any particular *Body* of *Men*, but by the *People* of *Great Britain*; and what they then did is the Foundation of our *present Constitution*. All that I infer from hence is, That if ever there was a Nation who had an *incontested Right* to *Freedom*, under certain *Limitations* of our own establishing, we are that *Nation*. This ought to be *universally known*, and *perpetually inculcated*, as the *Boundaries* of *Parishes* are *perambulated* at *Whitsuntide*, that *Posterity* may know what the *Limits* were which their *Ancestors* settled, and that we may *preserve* our *invaluable Privileges* as long as God shall permit us to be a *People*.

To enter into all the *Points* of *Enquiry*,
which

which may and ought to be the *Objects* of *National Concern*, would extend this Discourse too great a Length: Let us therefore content ourselves with the Examination only of a *few*, which are the easiest understood, and of the greatest Importance. It certainly becomes a *free People* to keep a strict Eye on that *Proportion* which ought to be maintain'd between the *Numbers* of those who *govern*, and of such as are *governed*; for immediately on the losing this *Proportion*, the latter become *Slaves*. In order to understand this, we need only look abroad, and see what is done in the rest of the World. While this *Proportion* was observed in *France*, that *Nation* was as *free* as we now are: but as by degrees the *Government* was extended, and it first became fashionable for a *Man of Family* to have some Place *Civil* or *Military*, however inconsiderable, and at last *scandalous* not to have it, their *Governors* grew so *numerous*, that the *Bulk* of their *People* were degraded, and the *Majesty* of their *Constitution* shrunk within the *Circle* of the *Crown*. So that in *France* we hear nothing now of the *Publick* or the *Commonweal*, much less of the *People*; but the Word *ROY* swallows up all.

THE best way of discovering this *Proportion*, is, to consider that which subsists between the *Properties* of those concerned in the *Government*, and those who have no Concern therein; for it is not a more *trite* than

true Saying, That Power follows Property.
 The *Property* of a *Nation* is what the *People*
possess by *Inheritance* and *Acquisition*; the
Property of those in the *Government*, is what
 they *possess* in *Right* of their *Employments*,
 which is taken out of the *Property* of the
People. It would be equally unjust and un-
 reasonable to expect that those who mind the
Affairs of the *Publick* should do it at their
own Expence, or that Men should have a scan-
 ty narrow Allowance, who devote themselves
 to the *Service* of the *People*. On the other
 hand, it is unreasonable to expect that a *free*
People should maintain *unnecessary Officers*,
 or should even maintain *necessary Officers* at
 an *unnecessary Expence*. What the *People*
 hold by *Inheritance* is their *own*; so likewise
 is what they *acquire* by their *Industry*; for
 both are the *Fruits* either of their *Labour* or
 that of their *Parents*. But as the *Use* of *Pro-*
perty is to secure *Necessaries*, *Conveniencies*,
 and whatever we think *desireable*, *Govern-*
ment must be preserved as a *Thing* on which
 all the rest *depend*. There is therefore no
Injustice in *paying* for it, provided we *pay* no
 more for it than it's *worth*; or, in other Words,
 pay but such a *Proportion* of what we *possess*,
 as leaves us easy in the *Remainder* of our
Possessions. The ingenious Dr. *Davenant* fol-
 lowing the *Principles* laid down by Sir *Wil-*
liam Petty, has shown the mighty *Difference*
 between a *free People* and a *People not free*,
 by

by comparing the Proportions of the Money raised in *France*, for the Service of the State, with the Property of the *French Nation*, and the Money raised in *England*, with the Property of the *English Nation*. It is true, Things are much altered since his Time; but as we do not cite his *Authority* to prove the *State* of Things, but to illustrate the *Argument* we are upon, the Case is the same, let the *Difference* at present in the *Revenues* be what it will, because we may reasonably suppose (at least we ought to suppose) that there is the same *Difference* in the Proportions. We shall also subjoin his Account of the *State* of *Holland*, that the Reader may be able to exercise his own Thoughts, as well as read ours, on so important a *Subject*. Thus then Things stood in the Year 1688.

The Annual Income of England was	L. 44,000,000
The Expence of the Government was	2,281,855
The Annual Income of Holland was	17,500,000
The Expence of the Government was	4,750,000
The Annual Income of France was	84,000,000
The Expence of the Government was	13,500,000

It is clear from this *Scheme*, that we as a *free People*, paid but about a Third for our *free Government* of what the *French* paid for their *Government*. It is true the *Dutch* did, and do pay very dearly for their *Constitution*, if any thing can be called *dear* which purchases *Liberty*. But there are two Reasons why

why the *Subjects* of the *States* should pay chearfully ; the *first* is, because their Situation makes the great Expence plainly *necessary* ; the *second*, that they cannot be in doubt either of the *Revenues* being misapplied, or more being *raised* than is *necessary*, because the Management is in *themselves*. The Reason why the *Expence* of *Government* is so large in *France*, is the Multiplicity of Offices, and the Multiplicity of Offices and Officers was the Contrivance of the two Cardinals *Richlieu* and *Mazarine*, to subject the People. For as an Army of a *Hundred Thousand* Men is easily kept in order by a moderate Corps of Officers, so when the *Dependants* of a *Government* rise to a certain Degree, they gain the absolute Management of the *rest* of the *Nation*.

THERE is no Merit in laying these Things before the *Publick*, because they were always known to, and guarded against by the *British Nation*. For after the *Revolution*, when the foreign Custom of having *Boards* of *Commissioners*, instead of the *Great Officers* of the *Kingdom*, prevailed, the *Parliament* provided a Remedy for the ill Consequences which might have attended it. To the same Cause we owe the other *legal Barriers* against *Place-men*. What is here offered, carries the Matter a little farther, and is intended to show that the *People* in *general* have a Right to canvass this *Point* ; that is, to enquire as far as

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they are *able* what the *Income* of the *Nation* really is, what its *Expence*, and what *Proportion* there is between the *People* and those *maintain'd* by the *People*. Whoever endeavours to throw Light on this Subject, is certainly a *Friend* to the *Liberties* of this *Nation*; and if any Set of Men should think themselves under an Obligation to represent such Dispositions as *seditious* or *dangerous* to the *Government*, they would discover either their *Ignorance* or their *evil Intentions*; because the best Way to serve any *British Administration*, is to make use of the Light it may afford to clear this *Question*, by demonstrating that we either pay *less* for our *Government* than we *did*, or if we pay *more*, that we still do not *exceed* what is *absolutely necessary*, nor are in any danger of coming to that *Point*, which would make the *publick Revenues* too heavy for the *National Income*.

If the *Friends* of a *Ministry* would convince a *free People* of the Uprightness of their Measures, they must *reason* and not *rail*. It is not only preposterous, but iniquitous, to intrench themselves behind their *Patron's Power*, to treat all *Enquiries* as *Acts* of *Sedition*, and to threaten every Man who presumes to look into his *own Concerns*, for such certainly are the *publick Affairs* in every *free Nation*. Our ablest Ministers knew this, and never talk'd of *Power*, but when they were conscious they could not talk *Reason*. When
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King *Charles II.* during a short Period of his Reign, entered into the *true Interest* of the Nation, and acted as the *King* of his *People*, his Ministers thought it no Derogation from their *Dignities* to pen *Pamphlets* themselves ; which *Pamphlets* all critical Politicians know to be *excellent* in their *Kind*, and to have gained so much on the *Minds* of the *People*, that nothing, but the King's altering his *Conduct*, could ever after have made him uneasy. In the Year 1707, under the Administration of the Treasurer *Godolphin*, when an Increase of the *National Expence* was thought unavoidable, a *Pamphlet* was published to support this *Measure*, under the Title of *The Necessity of an Augmentation* : But it was written by *Mr. Addison*, and the Force of it consisted in *Facts* and *Arguments*, not in *Panegyrick* on the *Lord High Treasurer*, or outrageous *Insults* on such as were thought to *oppose him*. When Writers descend either to *Abuse* or to *Threats*, it is a demonstrative Proof that however great that *Power* may be which *protects* them, there was no great *Wisdom* in him who made choice of them. Surely there cannot be a greater Sign of Infatuation than to let loose these *Sons of Billingsgate* on a *free People*, or to suffer a Crew of Mercenaries, under any Banners, to make at the same time *Inroads* on the *English Language* and on the *English Nation*.

THE *Sense* that this *Nation* has always expressed of augmenting the immediate *Dependants* on the *Crown* and *Government*, was not only founded in a *Concern* for their own *Freedom*, but in a just *Regard* for the *publick Good*, for the *Benefit* even of those who sought to become *Dependants*, and of their *Posterity*; which deserves to be explain'd, in order to prevent any Part of this *Spirit* from *evaporating*. If the *Dependants* of the *Crown* ever come to be too numerous, their *Maintenance* would become so great a *Charge* upon the *rest* of the *People*, as must bring *Poverty* upon the *whole Nation*; and which is worse, the *Evil* will be of a *cancerous* *Nature*, and eat every *Day* deeper and deeper. For when once *Folks* are convinced by *Experience*, that *Labour* and *Industry* will scarce entitle their *Children* to a *Subsistence*, they, without considering the *Consequences*, will endeavour to provide for them in the *Fleet*, the *Army*, or the *Revenue*, where if *Nature* extends a *Man's Life*, *Custom* provides for him; and thus the only thing that could save us, *Frugality* and *publick Spirit*, will be in danger of dwindling to nothing; which is already the *Case* in *most* of the *Nations* in *Europe*. Hence appears the *Fallacy* of charging *Men* with being *Enemies* to the *Government*, because tho' they love their *King*, they cannot, like the *Humorous Lieutenant*, fall in love with his *Guards*. Such as express an *Apprehension* of *Stand-*
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ing *Armies*, *Augmentations* of *Excisemen*, and creating new *Offices*, are so far from being *Enemies* to the *Government*, if we take that Word in its *true* and *genuine* *Sense*, for the *present Establishment* in the *present Royal Family*, that they are really the *best Friends*, and the *loyallest Subjects* in his Majesty's *Domini- ons*: For since *Reason* teaches, and *History* convinces them, that the *British Nation* cannot endure even the *Approaches* of *Slavery*, they wisely oppose whatever has a *Tendency* that Way, as well out of *Duty* to the *Crown*, as *Regard* to their *Fellow-Subjects*; well knowing that whatever ambitious *Meh* and short-sighted *Politicians* may pretend, their *Interest* ought to be the *same*, and that whenever it is not so, the *Success* of the *one* must be the *Ruin* of the *other*. If ever therefore it should come to pass, that *such* as are wilfully *blind* to the *real Concerns* of the *British People*, should engross to *themselves* the *Management* of *publick Affairs*, and think to secure it by doubling their *Guards* of *Dependants*, the natural *Consequence* must be, that the *Body* of the *People* would regard them as *Enemies*, and they, intoxicated with their *present Authority*, would fall foul on the *Body* of the *People*, as if it were as easy for them to *bully* a *Nation*, as to *bully each other*. Let this therefore stand as a *Beacon*, that whenever it is *lighted up*, *Posterity* may take care, and shift for *themselves*; for such is the *Happiness*

of *these Times*, that we need have no Apprehensions! But as *Ministers* are not *immortal*, we know not what may happen *hereafter*.

ANOTHER *Right* of a *free People*, is their expressing, in a proper manner, their Sense of *publick Affairs*, which, because it is now usually done by *Printing*, is stiled the *Liberty* of the *Press*: And this I do assert to be so essential to *Freedom*, that I will undertake to prove our *Liberties* cannot be *safe* if ever it should be *taken* from us. Nature teaches us to *complain* when we are aggrieved; and therefore there can be nothing more *unnatural* than to take away the *Power* of *Complaining*, tho' it should be attended with a *Promise* that we never should feel the *Weight* of any *Grievance*. The *Revolution*, to which we owe our *Liberties*, on which the present *Constitution* stands, and must stand, for whoever attempts to remove it from that *Foundation*, will certainly *throw it down*; the *Revolution*, I say, was the *Effects* of the *Liberty* of the *Press*. Now methinks I hear a *Court-Changeling* laugh outright, and cry, with an *Air* of *Triumph*, the *Press* was then *restrained* by *Law*. Why! sweet Sir, I know all that; but when the *Law* was *too hard* for the *People*, the *People* made free with the *Law*, and with the *Press*; and it was this *illegal Freedom*, if it must be called so, which brought us the *Blessings* we now *enjoy*. It is most true, that in King *William's* Time there
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were People who thought that restraining the *Press* might be useful to his *Government*, or at least pretended to think so. But there is nothing can be inferred from this, for these very *Men* made him uneasy during his *whole Reign*. They endeavoured to raise a mixt Structure of *free* and *arbitrary* Rule; and this brought in that *Torrent* of *Corruption* which had like to have carried all before it, when *publick Companies* lavish'd away the *Properties* of their *Constituents* without their *Consents*, in bribing *Court Favourites*; when our *Councils* were betray'd by *Men* immediately in the *Service*; and when such *abominable Frauds* were committed by *Men* of *vast Estates*, that the very *Horror* of their *Guilt* made the *Vulgar* believe them *innocent*: As any *Englishman* may read in the *Histories* of those *Times*, and as many who *lived* in them can well *remember*. But to return to the *Liberty* of the *Press*, which, I say again, produced the *Revolution*, and will everlastingly contribute to the *Support* of that *Government* which stands upon *Revolution-Principles*, *Principles* of *Reason* and *Freedom*, and not on those *Principles* of *indefeasible Right* and *absolute Submission*, which whoever teaches, tho' under Colour of serving the *present Government*, is certainly *no Friend* to it in his *Heart*.

THE *Science* of *Politicks*, as far as the best *Judges* have been able to discern, differs very little

little from other *Sciences*, and consequently it must be *promoted* or *injur'd* by the same *Methods* which *promote* or *injure* them. Now, who is there that does not know that the *Restraints* laid on *Learning* brought in *Monkish Ignorance*, and overspread the World with such a thick *Cloud of Darkness*, that a little *Mathematicks* rendred their Owner suspected of *Necromancy*, of which the Investigation of an *Algebraick Problem* would have pass'd for an *indubitable Proof*? To what does the World owe its present Advantages in every kind of *Science*, but to the *Freedom* of Mens *Studies*, and that *Emulation* which necessarily flows therefrom? This being the Case, why should we apprehend that *Politicks* will suffer from being *canvass'd*, any more than *Philosophy* or *Mathematicks*? Or, to speak out, why should we not assert that Men have the same Right to enquire how they are govern'd by their *Fellow-Creatures*, that they have to examine the *Directions* laid down to them by their *Creator*. *Bishops* of the *English Church*, *Presbyterian Teachers*, and now and then a *Popish Priest* may be seen in the *Anti-chambers* of the *Great*; and while this proves their having no Tincture of *Religious Bigotry*, with what Face can they pretend to introduce *Bigotry* in the *State*? Before Men were at liberty to examine *Matters of Government*, almost all *Statesmen* acted upon *Machiavellian Maxims*; but as the *Gross* of *Mankind* grew wiser,

wiser, they forced *Ministers* to become *honest*. Rome would not endure a *Borgia*, nor would the *British Nation* bear *three Months* with the Insolence of a *Wolsey*. But if any *Limitations* of this our *Liberty* should find Admittance, that is, if the *People* should submit to a *Law* destructive of *Liberty*, and suffer the *Constitution* to act against itself, future *Ministers* would grow bold, and the Ice being once broken, they would venture to step on a little farther, till Things at last issued in *Confusion*, and they become *petty Tyrants*, or our *Posterity* absolutely free. It is therefore tempting *Fortune*, or, to speak like a *Christian*, provoking *Providence*, not to see and acknowledge the *great Blessings* we now enjoy in consequence of our reasoning freely on whatever regards either *Church* or *State*; and if we do see and confess them, we must be either the *greatest Fools*, or the *greatest Knaves*, in the World, if we complement them away, suffer ourselves to be *trick'd*, or give them up by *Bargain* and *Sale*, which are the only *Methods* whereby we can be deprived of them.

As to the *Licences* taken by *inconsiderate* or *wicked* People in writing *Libels*, they are indeed very *grievous*, and, I think, heartily deserve *Punishment*. But let me ask a Question: Would it not be an *odd thing* to hang a *Murderer's Dagger*, or break the *Blunderbus* of an *Assassin* upon the *Wheel*? And yet

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this is the very thing *contended* for here. An Outcry is set up against *Libellers*, not in order to *punish* the *Men*, but to fall upon the *Press*. We are apt sometimes to *surfeit* upon good *Things* : But is this a sufficient Reason to *pray* for a *Famine* ? As *Things* stand at present, the *Law* will punish severely the *Writer* of a *Libel*.; and that is sufficient. It is true, the *present Administration* have been remarkably *tender* in that Point, especially of late, and have declined punishing the most *impudent Offenders*, even when called upon by the *Voice* of the *People*. I remember to have seen a *Paper* posted on the *Exchange*, which bordered nearly on the *rankest* Kind of *Treason*, *Treason* against our *whole Constitution*. The Case was this : The *King*, by his *Royal Proclamation*, wherein there was a very pathetick Enumeration of the Causes, declared *War* against *Spain*. Shortly after, the *Nation*, in a most solemn Manner, implored the *Divine Blessing* on his *Majesty's Arms*. As a Return to these Prayers, we had the acceptable News of the *taking* of *Porto-Bello* by that gallant Patriot Admiral *Vernon*, with *six Men of War* only. On this, the *Lords*, *Commons*, and the *City of London*, addressed his Majesty in the *strongest Terms*, and met with a most gracious Reception. Notwithstanding all this, comes an obscure nameless *Writer*, and *maliciously* (which is the *Essence* of a *Libel*) professing himself a *Friend* to the *Government*, compares

compares this to the *piratical Action* of one Captain Hall, who basely, and, in breach of Faith, *betrayed, deceived, and robbed* the Spaniards with *four Men* only. The suffering such a *Libel* as this to pass, not only with *Impunity*, but without *Enquiry*, is such a transcendent Mark of *Pitifulness* and Meekness of Spirit, as the more it is considered, the more it must be *admired*. But methinks, it is grafting a *Libel* upon a *Libel*, for Men to insinuate that such *Libels* as these may be made a Pretence for injuring the *Liberty* of the *Press*; surely this is dealing very cruelly with the *Great*, to attribute their *Tenderness* and *Compassion* to such sinister *Motives*. And having thus shown my Zeal and Impartiality, I readily return to my *Discourse*.

ALL Schemes of *breaking in* on that *Liberty* which we now enjoy, are neither better nor worse than *Projects* for *rebuilding* those *Fortresses* whence *Great Men* were wont to play on the *Little*, and sometimes on each other, with the *Ordinance* of *Royal Prerogative*, till our Ancestors, after being sorely galled, very wisely *pulled them down*. All who are acquainted with History, know what desperate Things were done in the *Star-Chamber* before it was *taken away* by *Act of Parliament*. Yet many Things might have been said in its favour: It was an *antient, legal*, and, in some Cases, an *useful Judicature*; neither were there wanting some who endeavoured

voured to set these Arguments in the *strongest Light*, but all would not do. It appeared that *Liberty* and this *Judicature* were *incompatible*; and therefore the *Patriot Priests* never left *blowing* till the Walls of this *Jericho* fell down; and whenever it comes into the *Head* of a *Man* to re-edify it, may he lay the *Foundation* in his *youngest*, and set up the *Gates* in his *first-born*. Yet even this *Court* did not think it reasonable to restrain the *Subjects* from *speaking, writing, or even printing*, where the *Publick* was in *evident Danger*. I shall give an Instance of this in the Time of *James I.* My Lord *Northampton*, who was *Lord High Treasurer* of *England*, exhibited his Complaint in the *Star-Chamber* on account of certain *Libels*, wherein he was represented as a *Man popishly affected*, one much inclin'd to the *Spanish Interest*, and who had done Things inconsistent with his *Duty* to his *Sovereign* and to his *Country*. One would have thought that this had been sufficient to have *crush'd* such as had ventur'd to provoke this *great Minister* in so daring a manner: But upon the *Hearing* of the *Cause*, the *Archbishop* of *Canterbury*, who was the first *Commissioner*, observed, That a *Discovery* of such *Practices* was rather a *Mark of Affection* than of *Dislike* to the *State*; and then pulling out of his *Breast* a *Letter* of my Lord *Northampton's*, which shew'd how *truly* he was *charged*, he read it, the *Bill* was *dismissed*, and the

the *Minister* broke his *Heart*. And so much for the *Star-Chamber*, of which at least all the *necessary Power* is still in the *Court of King's-Bench*, without any *Terror* to the *Subject*, while so *mild* and *upright* a *Magistrate* as the present *Chief Justice* presides there. What need therefore of any *additional Provisions* for the *Safety* of the *Great*, when it is already at a *Man's Peril* if he ventures, by telling any *unseasonable Truths*, to offend them, and subject himself thereby to an *Information*?

BUT if all that has been hitherto said, were insufficient to show the *Necessity* of *preserving the Liberty* of the *Press* inviolate, our own *Experience* ought to weigh down all the *specious Pretences* that can be urged in its *behalf*. Do we not remember what was said about *licensing the Stage*? Did any of the *Advocates* for that *Project* pretend to set it in the *Light* wherein it has since appeared? Have we not seen *Appeals* from the *Licenser* to the *Publick*? and have not his *Decrees* been constantly *reversed*? Let us not therefore suffer the *Press* to fall into the like *Situation*, because its *Appeal* will be *barr'd*, and we shall have no *Opportunity* of hearing how the *Licenser* executes his *Commission*. Such a *Step* would be running back to *Rome*, with a witness; an *Index Expurgatorius* would be a *necessary Consequence*; and if those who have the *Management* of us are not *Fools*, we shall, in the *Tenth Part* of a *Century*, be
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the *arrantest Slaves* in *Christendom*. *Power* is an intoxicating thing, and therefore all *Concessions* in its favour are dangerous : It is like giving ground to the *Sea*, or opening a *Gate* to a *mad Bull* ; we may *escape* afterwards, but if we do, it is more than we *deserve*, and we can never *recover* our *Reputation*. The great Chancellor *Bacon* thought that even *Libels* had their *Uses*, because they served to show how the *Wind* blew. If our *modern Statesmen* are of another Opinion, let them punish the *Libels* against the *present War*, which are of the highest Nature ; for they not only reflect on *them*, by pretending to their *Countenance*, but on the *whole Legislature*. We shall then see this *Doctrine* fairly stated, and Men will come to some degree of *Knowledge* of what they may *write*, and what they may *not write*, which at present is not a *little dubious* ; tho' I will venture to lay it down for a *Rule*, That if a Man meddles not with *particular Persons*, and writes *decently* and *properly* on his *Subject*, he cannot offend against the *Law* of the *Land* ; for if it were *otherways*, our *Liberty* would be as an *Italian*, not a *British Liberty* : For in that happy Climate, the Word *LIBERTAS* stands in *great Characters* on the *City-Gates* of every little *Republick* ; but it signifies *nothing* there, and you look for it in *vain* after you *enter in*. But for our *Northern Clowns*, who cannot be put off without *Sub-*
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stance, the *Liberty* they admire is a *solid Thing*, it is a *Freedom of speaking and acting* what every Man *pleases*, consistent with the *known Laws*, which he claims as his *Birth-Right* by the *Constitution*, and of which he is justly more *jealous* than of any other *Part* of his *Inheritance*.

ANOTHER *Thing* to which the People have a *Right*, is the examining on certain Occasions *publick Affairs*, in their *particular*, but *lawful Assemblies*. I shall explain this, so as to render it intelligible to every Capacity. All the *Courts* in this Kingdom were originally constituted with a View to *publick Benefit*, though, thro' a long Course of Time, some of them seem now to be of a private Nature; such as our *Courts Leet* and *Baron*. But there are other *Assemblies* wherein the true Nature of their Institution hath never been forgot. Hence *Grand Juries* of all sorts have taken the liberty, when they saw proper occasion, to intermeddle with the greatest Matters, and to express the Sentiments of the People in the strongest Terms. Thus in the Year 1701, when the Affairs of *England* were in a very *critical Situation*, and it was thought the Parliament did not shew a sufficient Readiness in giving Supplies, the *Grand Jury* of the County of *Kent* framed a very warm *Petition*, wherein they expostulated with the *House of Commons* on their Conduct, and even proceeded to dictate what they thought

was for the *Good* of the *Nation*, and the *Safety* of the *People*. It cannot be denied that this *Petition* was treated with the utmost *Contempt* by the *House* of *Commons*, and those who presented it were used with extraordinary *Severity*: Yet nothing is more certain than that the *Administration* countenanced this *Petition*; and that the *Generality* of the *People* were of opinion that the *Conduct* of the *House* of *Commons* was very *arbitrary*, and shew'd a high *Disrespect* to their *Constituents*, as we may learn from *Bishop Kennet's History*, as well as other *Writers* of that *Reign*. To say the truth, one great *Use* of *Affizes* is the *Conferences* which are held there between the *King's Judges* and his *People*; for as it is the *Custom* for the *Judges* to give a concise *Account* of the *State* of the *Publick* in their *Charges*, it is to be presumed that they make *Reports* at their *Return* of the *Disposition* wherein they find the *People*; it follows consequently, that the *People* ought to be careful to have their *true Sentiments* told, to prevent its being thought that they are either *ignorant* of any *Innovations* made in *Government*, or *unthankful* for any *Acts* of *Benevolence* flowing from the *Crown*, either of which would be unworthy of a *free People*, who, as they have a *Right* to judge of *publick Transactions*, so nothing can be more laudable than their doing *Justice* to an *upright Administration*, the *Praise* of *Freemen* being the most
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fragrant Incense ; whereas the *Fldttery* of *Slaves* is noisome even in the *Nostrils* of *Tyrants*, who know very well that such *Adresses* have no meaning, and that all this Court is paid to their *Power*, and not to their *Persons*.

IT is nearly the same Case in respect to the *General Courts* held in great *Corporations*, where doubtless the *Members* have as much *Right* to canvass *publick Affairs*, when the *Circumstances* of Things render it *proper*, as they have to adjust the *private Concerns* of their *particular Communities* ; and *this*, because some People pretend to treat it as an *Absurdity*, I shall endeavour, in few Words, to make so clear, that I am confident no *unpaid* and *unprejudiced* Person will pretend to doubt it. I shall not, on this Occasion, display my *Learning* in regard to the Original and Rights of *Boroughs*: *Brady*, *Maddox*, and *Willis*, have already exhausted this Subject, and whoever has a mind to see what our *Constitution* was, what *it is*, and what, in all Probability, it *will be*, need only peruse the excellent Writings of those worthy and industrious Persons, and meditate a little on the progressive Nature of *Power*, to receive full Satisfaction. But without running up to the Sources of Things, *Common Sense* teaches, and no *Antiquary* can deny, that *Corporations* are form'd for the Benefit of those *incorporated*. This their *Charters* always declare,

and the *Frame* of *Government* prescribed by them, is always such a one as bears a *Re-semblance* to the *British Legislature*, of which each of these *Corporations* seems to be a *Figure* in *Miniature*. The *Design* of these *little Governments* is not to raise *petty Republicks*, independent of the *Commonwealth*, but to secure the *Inhabitants* of a *certain District* such *Advantages* as are deducible from their *Situation*, consistent with the *publick Good*; that is, with the *Good* of the *Whole*, as appears likewise from their *Charters*; whereby they are restrained from making any *Laws* incompatible with those of the *Realm*; because otherwise the *Subjects* would be distracted, and not know where their *Obedience* was *due*. These *Points* therefore being considered, we cannot but observe, that when any *evil Measures* discover themselves in their extensive *Influence*, they come under the *Notice* of such *Corporate Councils*; and in this *Case* what can they do? The *Mischief* is too great for them to *remedy*. Must they not therefore represent it? Suppose a *great Man* was to give an *Engine* to a *Town*, on condition that it should be play'd only when *single Houses* were *a-fire*, but be lock'd up when the *Flames* reach'd a *whole Street*; would not this be an evident *Act* of *Folly*? Why then should we impute such an *Act* to our *Kings*? Why should we suppose, that their *Charters* gave a *Power* of suppressing
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small *Nuisances*, and at the same time required *Reverence* for *great ones*?

BUT, say some, The *Members* of these *Little Councils* are Men but in middling Circumstances, and of ordinary Understanding; they want all the Advantages of Birth, Education, and Converse with publick Business. Can these be fit *People* to controul an *Administration*? But this is a new Art in *Logick*, called the *Convention Mood*, and is not either better or worse than *begging the Question*, by *new-stating it*. The *Members* of these *Councils* do not controul any *Administration*, in the Sense intended by the *Objection*; they only represent such *Grievances* as become *evident* to them, and which they want Power to redress. Thus a *great trading Town* must necessarily be very sensible of whatever obstructs the *Commerce* of the *Nation*. It is their *private* and *particular*, as well as it is the *publick* and *general Concern*; but if they are not *allowed to complain*, what is there left for them to do? Nothing certainly, but to bear like *Beasts of Burthen*. If, like the *Hans-Towns* in *Germany*, our *Cities* were at liberty to right themselves, why, very probably, some of them would scarce have utter'd a *Complaint* about the *Spanish Depredations*; but since they have no such *Rights*, they must be content with those *they have*. Again, if *Luxury* become *general*, if every *fifth House* be turn'd into an *Ale-House*, if, on the Ruin

of that noble Diversion the *Theatre*, a Multitude of new, expensive, and debauched Entertainments, are set up under Colour of *Law*, or by Connivance of *Power*, the *Members* of these *Corporate Councils* must see, or at least feel their *Effects*; and what then? They cannot, by any Authority they have, either erect a well-constituted *Theatre*, for promoting the good Old Cause of virtuous *Liberty*, nor can they silence those polite Diversions, where *Italian Bawdry* and *Encore Dances* soften the Manners of the *Spectators*, and dispose them to be *Slaves*. Lastly, If *Corruption* grow rampant, if Persons of Rank and Figure take upon them to threaten or cajole the *Members* of such *Assemblies* as we are speaking of; Shall the *Majority*, if they remain honest, have no Right to demand *Satisfaction* for such *Attempts*? Can it be believed that our *Laws*, which secure a *Shoe-boy* from being insulted, should leave the Magistracy of any *Town* to the Mercy of a Set of wicked Men, who combine to employ their Wealth and Interest, purloin'd perhaps from their honest *Neighbours*, to the prejudice of the *Place* in which they inhabit? This surely can never be imagined; *Common Sense* and *Experience* are against it, and no *Law* either does, or can make it justifiable. To say therefore, that *Chandlers*, *Weavers*, *Bookbinders*, *Coach-makers*, *Smiths*, *Wine-Coopers*, and such-like, are no fit Judges of publick Affairs,

fairs, is stating the Question *falsely*, unless these People had pretended to question *Judgments* in *Westminster-Hall*, to inspect the Books of the *Treasury*, or send their *Orders* to the *Custom-House*. But the *Point in Fact* is, Whether these *People*, as *proper Judges* in the *Affairs* of the *Corporation*, and *their own*, may not take notice of *publick Mischiefs*? and whenever a *Negative* can be put upon *this*, the following *Proposition* may be maintain'd in any Place, (save the *two Universities*) viz. That a *great Evil* is not so much an *Evil* as a *small one*; from whence may be deduced some such necessary *Corollaries* as these; That *Power* is always in the *right*, and that all *Murmurers* are *Rebels*.

THO' I am fully persuaded, I might rest my Evidence here, yet, because this is a Point of mighty Consequence, and has, within the *Memory of Man*, been *warmly* controverted, I will go yet a Step farther, and prove from the *Courtiers* themselves, that *Corporate Councils* have such a *Right* as I contend for. In support of this Assertion, I beg leave to cite the famous *Totness Address*; wherein the *Members* of that antient and loyal *Corporation* assur'd his late Majesty, That they were ready to give not only *Two* or *Four Shillings* in the Pound, but the other *Sixteen*, whenever it was necessary. I crave leave also to remember the *Addresse* on Mr. *Palm's* Memorial, on the *Pretender's Declaration*, &c. which being late Things,

Things, every common Reader must have in his Head. Did ever any Man venture to assert, that these were *illegal* or *impertinent*? or would not any Man have been justly *punished*, if he had been mad enough to have said so? We see then, that it is on all hands agreed, that these *Corporate Councils* may *compliment*, and that in as strong Terms as they please, without prejudice to his Majesty's *Honour*, or that of his *Administration*. Whence I gather, that if they see reason (upon which no doubt their *Compliments* are founded) they may *complain too* in such Terms as are agreeable to the Subject of their *Complaints*. It is certain, that I might have put this Matter in a much *stronger Light*; but as I am tender of *some People's Eyes*, I chose rather to express myself coolly and cautiously, that the Strength of my *Arguments* may not be prejudiced by the *Warmth* of my *Expressions*, having no design to offend any body, or to provoke *any Party*, but barely to point out some useful and seasonable *Truths*, for the sake of such as are lately cured of *Party-Prejudices*, and are willing to see what those *good Things* are, for which the *wise* and *honest Men* of all *Parties* ought to contend, against *such* as, whatever they may pretend, have nothing in View but their *own Interest*, and that of their *servile Dependants*.

It may be thought a *Digression*, after what has been said, to offer any thing particularly as
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to the *City of London*; yet the *Importance of the thing*, the *Title of this Piece*, and, above all, some *late Speeches*, and no very distant *Transactions*, will sufficiently justify what I am going to say. All the *Capital Cities of Europe* have very great *Privileges*, as *Capital Cities*. All who are acquainted with *History*, know of what consequence the *Good-Will of the Parisians* was heretofore to the *French Court*, and how great a *Respect* is still paid by his most Christian Majesty to his *good City of Paris*. In *Spain*, where there is the utmost *Respect* paid, as indeed there ought every where to be paid, to the *Person of the Sovereign* and his *Family*, the *People* are not such *Fools*, or such *Slaves*, as to be in love with those who oppress them under colour of *Royal Authority*. No; in such Cases the *Inhabitants of Madrid* assemble under the *Royal Apartments*, and cry out, like *honest Men* and *good Subjects*, *Long live his Majesty, and down with evil Ministers*. It is the same thing in *Vienna*, *Rome*, *Lisbon*, and other great *Cities*. The *Reason* is plain and easy. The *Residence of the Court*, and of the chief *Councils*, constitutes a *Capital*, and in proportion as these are *respected* and *resorted to*, it must grow *populous* and *wealthy*; and consequently, where there is the least *Remains of Freedom*, weighty and considerable. But let no *Scribler of State* interpret this, as if I meant to put the *Conduct of the Citizens of London*

London on a *Par* with that of the *Inhabitants* of the other great *Cities* I have mentioned. In all *Places*, the People exert themselves according to the *Nature* of their *Constitution*; at *Constantinople* in one way, at *Geneva* in another; but every where they exert themselves when they are intolerably *grieved*, and see no other way of being *redressed*. It is the *Happiness* of the *Citizens* of *London* that they are in a better *Situation* than any of the rest, and, by having *stated* and *legal Assemblies*, can never want seasonable *Opportunities* of *complaining* to the *Legislature* of whatsoever they think *bears* hard upon them; and whosoever takes this *ill*, and is pleased to express a *Dislike* of their *Behaviour*, is not more *angry* with them than with the *Constitution*; neither can there be so strong a *Proof* in *Nature* of there being *evil Designs* on foot against the *Liberty* of the *People*, as the insulting the *City* of *London* in its *Corporate Capacity*.

LET it also be consider'd, what a large *Proportion* the *Cities* of *London* and *Westminster*, the *County* of *Middlesex*, and those *Parts* of the adjacent *Counties*, which owe their *Wealth* to, and are consequently dependent upon these *Cities*, pay towards the *Support* of the *Government*, not less, I dare say, than a *Fourth Part* of all our *Taxes*; and then let us hear some rational *Arguments* against suffering these *People* to *speak* about *publick Affairs*.

fairs. Let it be shown what *Interest*, what *Property*, what *Title to dictate*, lies in the *Men* who treat *these People* as *sturdy Beggars*. For sure, if there be *Merit* in any thing, if this *Government* itself hath any *Excellence*, those who contribute so much to its *Support*, ought to have some degree of *Credit*. If this is not *Reason*, I believe, not only *myself*, but most *People*, must go to *School* again, in order to discover to whom *Regard* is *due* in a *free Country*, if not to those who have the greatest *Stake* therein. Besides, instead of multiplying *Scurrility* against the *Citizens* of *London*, certain *Pens* might have been better employed, in shewing, that there is no *Injustice* in expecting *People* to support a *Government*, in which they are to have no *Concern*; for tho' this is not the *Case* at *present*, yet it may be the *Case* hereafter, if the loose *Maxims*, scatter'd in some *publick Papers*, should become the *Maxims* of any future *Administration*. If indeed any body was mad enough to contend, that because the *Inhabitants* of *London* pay so great a *Proportion* towards the *Expence* of the *Publick*, therefore they ought to have the *Direction* and *Command* of the *Nation*; then the *Stuff* we have lately heard, might not be absolutely *Nonsense*. But this is so far from being the *Case*, that it is as evident as the *Sun* at *Noon-day*, that the *Inhabitants* of the *rest* of the *Cities* and *great Towns* throughout the *whole Island*, are in the *same Senti-*

ments with the *Citizens of London*, speak the same *Language*, and desire the same thing. The *Pretence* therefore, that the *Londoners* assume too much to themselves, that they are a Race of *singular, sullen unquiet People*, and that therefore they deserve *little Regard*, is a mere *Pretence*; such a *Pretence*, as that the *Convention* was the *best of Treaties*; or that *Pretence of Pretences*, that the *Deaseance* about the *South Sea Company's Money* had nothing to do with that *Convention*; but that his *Catholick Majesty* would faithfully and honourably discharge those *Engagements*, into which our wise and penetrating *Plenipotentiaries* had drawn HIM.

BUT if all that has been said were nothing to the purpose, there is an *Argument* behind, which would fully justify the *City*. All *Parties* agree, that *Trade* is the great *Source* of our *Riches and Power*, as a *Nation*; we have the *Authority* of the *Legislature* for this, in those *Addresses* which induced the *present War*; and, if it can be called an *Authority*, we have that too of those who dislike the *present War*, who would fain be understood to have a *mighty Concern* for *Trade*. Now, with respect to *Trade*, there are two *Things* certain. *First*, That the *Trade* of the *City of London* is greater than that of any other *City* in *Europe*, and that it is a large *Proportion* of the *Trade* of this *whole Nation*. *Secondly*, That there is such a rivetted *Opinion* of the *Know-*
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ledge and Skill of the Merchants of London, in all the Trading Cities and Boroughs of this Kingdom, that the Rules of our general Commerce are taken from thence. If therefore the City Councils can judge of any thing, or are to be of any use, then, without question, their Judgment is both to be sought and regarded, with respect to Trade. On the other hand, since Trade is their greatest and nearest Concern, as Citizens; their Councils must necessarily turn thereon; and consequently whatever Representations they make, flowing from the Embarrassments, Difficulties and Discouragements under which our Commerce, as they apprehend, may at any time labour, are not either impertinent or insolent Digressions from their proper Sphere of Business, nor ought they so to be represented. The many Charters granted to the City of London by our Princes, are so many authentick Testimonies of the great Consequence of a well-managed Traffick; since it is a Fact indisputable, that the Growth of London, which is now nine times as big as in the Days of Queen Elizabeth, is owing chiefly to Trade. Such therefore as are intrusted with the Government of the City, are bound, by all the Ties of Duty and Honour, by their Oaths, and by their Interests, to look to this most essential Point, whence their Greatness sprung, upon which it depends, and which nevertheless cannot be secured but by the utmost Industry and Care :

To this, I say, they are bound, nor can they shew any Affiduity which ought to render them liable to *Censure* from any who are true *Friends* to their *Country*, who really and *bona fide* wish well to *Liberty* and *Property*, to the *Subjects Rights*, and to the *Honour* of the *Crown*. Such indeed as do not mind, or do not understand their own *Business*, may think their *Conduct exposed* by that of the *Citizens*; but it would be hard that the *Good* should receive *Laws* from the *Bad*, or that the *Common Sense* of Mankind should be sacrificed to the *Necessities* of a *few*, and those *Necessities* brought on by *themselves*.

If it was necessary, I might cite a Multitude of *Proofs* from our *English History*, in Support of what has been said in favour of the *City of London*. We might take notice of the Services it rendered to *Edward IV.* to *Henry VII.* and all his *Descendants*, the Respect paid it by the great *Queen Elizabeth*, and its *Mayor's* subscribing the *Proclamation* of *King James* before all the *Nobility*. But I willingly descend to later Times, because I have heard it objected, that the *sedition Temper* of the *Londoners* was the principal Cause of the *Civil War* in the Reign of *King Charles I.* which is however a *false* and *odious* Reflection. That the *Inhabitants* of this *City* were, in the Beginning of the *Troubles*, what they always were, *Enemies* to *arbitrary Power*, is *true*, and ought to be remembered to
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their Honour : They petitioned against Grievances ; they protected the *five Members*, and they were *faithful* to the *Parliament*, while the *Parliament* remained faithful to its *first Principles*. But they frequently express'd their Dislike of those *Proceedings*, which manifested a Design of *changing* the *Constitution* in Church and State ; and in 1647, they made a noble Stand in Defence of the just *Rights* of the *Crown* and the *Liberties* of the *People* ; but being betrayed, they fell under the Tyranny of the *Remnant* of a *House* of *Commons*, and of a perfidious, tho' victorious *Army*, who demolish'd the Works rais'd for the Defence of the City, march'd through it in Triumph, with *Laurel* in their *Hats* ; and thenceforward the City of *London* never enjoyed her *Rights* and *Privileges* till the *Restoration*, which yet in her desolate and distress'd Condition, for the *weekly Bills* show, that her *Inhabitants* were reduced by a *Third*, she promoted vigorously, and at the *peril* of losing *all* that she had *left*. Of this King *Charles II.* a little after his *Restoration*, was so sensible, that, upon an *Address* from Sir *Richard Brown* then Lord Mayor, and the *Officers* of the *City-Militia*, he thought fit not to return him an Answer in the *ordinary way*, but by a *Letter*, wherein he expresses the utmost Respect for, and Confidence in them. Yet the *City* alter'd their *Temper*, when the King alter'd his *Measures* ; and we
may

may safely say, that the *Nation's Liberties* were preserved by the Spirit and Constancy shown by the *Citizens*, in opposing the *open Violences* and *secret Arts of Corruption*, which were practis'd in that Reign, after the King came to be governed by *Women* and *French Councils*, to love *Money* better than *all things*; and from thence to form a *Notion*, that *all the World* must *do so too*.

I HAVE before observed, that the *People* every where exert themselves when they are *grievously* oppress'd, and that they exert themselves according to the Nature of their *Constitution*. We have so strong a Proof of this in regard to the *City of London*, in the latter Part of the *Reign* I have just mention'd, that I cannot avoid taking notice of it. King *Charles* had been influenced by the *Popish Faction* to grow out of love with *Parliaments*, and to take very extraordinary Methods to be rid of them. This was the highest Case that could possibly happen in our *Government*; yet it seems the *City of London* thought they had to do with it, and in the most dutiful manner address'd his *Majesty*, That the *Parliament* might sit. How this was relish'd by the *King* and his *Administration*, I need not inform the Reader: Those who advise Kings to act against the *Interest* of their *Subjects*, will not scruple to represent every Man, who endeavours to show the Iniquity of their Advice, as a *Rebel*; I say, they will not want Malice

Malice or Wickedness enough to do this, nor the Assurance to cite the *Instances* of his *Loyalty*, as so many *Proofs* of his *Treason*. But whatever was thought by that King's *Counsellors* of this Act of the City of *London*, the *House of Commons* approved it, and thereby recognized, for themselves and their *Successors*, the *Rights* of the *People* out of *Parliament*, to pursue those *Ends* for which a *Parliament* ought to act. Accordingly, in 1680, Sir *Patience Ward* thought proper to call a *Common Council*, wherein a long *Petition* was agreed upon to his *Majesty*, setting forth what the *Parliament* had done, what the *People* of *England* expected they should do; and beseeching his *Majesty* to suffer them to meet at the *Time* to which they were *prorogued*, that they might do their *Duty* towards him, and towards their *Constituents*. Every body knows what *Methods* that *Prince* was advised to take, to rid himself of these *Applications* from the *City*; but even those who advised him to bring a *Quo Warranto* against its *Charter*, never pretended to say, that while they were possess'd of that *Charter*, they had no *Right* to apply themselves in the manner they did to the *Crown*; and the Reason was, because the *Knaves* in those *Days* were no *Fools*; they acted against the *Constitution* virtually, and yet they were for covering themselves under the *Constitution*. This put them upon taking away by *Law* those Powers

Powers from the People, which they found dangerous to themselves; and this was both a modefter and a wifer Way, than to think of denying those Rights to be in the People, which but a little before they had owned and encouraged.

IN the fucceeding Reign, the City of London was able to do nothing in the *Constitutional Way*, being deprived of her *Charter*, and being a mere Creature of the Court in *Appearance*, because the Court gave her what *Appearance* it pleased. But this was juſtly reckon'd among the great Grievances of the Nation, and the King himſelf was ſo ſenſible of it, that when he ſought to ſooth his People on account of the impending Invaſion from *Holland*, the firſt Act he did, was to reſtore the *Charter* of the City of London. A poor Recompence this! for hanging one who had been an *Alderman* and *Sheriff* of that City, in the Heart of it, in the face of the Sun, and in the Sight of his Neighbours. However, it was all the King could do; and what Senſe his beſt Friends had of it, will appear from the following Paragraph, taken from the Advice given him by thoſe Proteſtant *Biſhops* who remained all their Lives *Nonjurors*. It is the Eighth Clause in the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury's* Representation. Thus it runs :

“ THAT your Maſteſty will be gracionfly
 “ pleaſed to ſuperſede all further Proſecution
 “ of

“ of *Quo Warranto's* against *Corporations*, and
 “ to restore to them their *antient Charters*,
 “ Privileges, and Franchises, as we hear
 “ God hath put it into your Majesty's Heart
 “ to do for the *City of London*, which we in-
 “ tended to have made otherwise *one* of our
 “ *principal Requests*.”

THE last Act which owned the King, was
 the Declaration of the Lords Spiritual and
 Temporal, in and about the *Cities of London*
 and *Westminster*, assembled at *Guildhall* the
 14th of *December* 1688, which is signed by
 the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and *Twenty*
eight other Lords, and is a clear Proof of
 the great Respect all wise and honest *English-*
man have ever paid to the *City of London*.
 To this I beg leave to add, that the *Address*
 of the *Lieutenancy of London* brought the
Prince of Orange hither, which compleated
 that *great Work*; that is, the Basis of our
present Government. Whence a plain Man
 would infer, that the *City of London* still hath,
 and ought to have *great Significancy*, which
 is a Point some Gentlemen have lately ven-
 tur'd to dispute; nay, have ventured to *insult*
 those they could not *direct*, and to *publish* a
List of a Common Council in such an offensive
 Way, as is not to be paralleled by any thing
 done even in our *Times of publick Distraction*.
 Yet these very Men complain of *Libels*, and
 the *Licence of the Press*, of the *Contempt of*
Authority, and of Want of Respect to the

Lord knows who ! while the People actually bear the Expence of their Writings, which, if there be any such, are the Instances of that Licentiousness, which ought to make the Press odious.

THERE is *one Point* more on which I shall touch, and then conclude; that is, the *Liberty* People are said to take in *Talking*. Most true it is, that the *Tongue* is an *unruly Member*, and that out of the *Abundance* of the *Heart* the *Mouth* *speaketh*. I shall therefore do so much Justice to the Gentlemen who are everlastingly complaining on this head, as to acknowledge that they for many Years past have had some reason. While our Merchants had their Ships continually taken by the *Spaniards*, without any Reparation, while those who insured were every day ruined, by *trusting* to *Treaties*, and believing that while we made *no War*, we were at *Peace*; while, by degrees, the general Course of our *Trade* was disturb'd and alter'd in such a manner, that *Industry* could not *advance*, or *Caution* protect, such as were engaged therein; it was no wonder that Men talk'd oddly; and though they might exceed the Bounds of *Decency* a little, yet, to be sure, they expected *Gamblers Law*, which says, *That the Losers have leave to speak*. An equitable Permission this! and yet there are some People who grudge their Countrymen the Benefit of it, while they themselves have no other *Title* to their
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high Spirits, but what is given them by another Law in the same Code, That those may laugh who win.

BUT suppose it should be asked what the Consequences would have been, if these Men had *held their tongues*. Would their *Patience* have *redressed* their *Sufferings*, or their *Meekness* melted the *Hearts* of their *Enemies*? The haughty *Spaniards* are not so soon brought to reason, as Mr. Keene assures us in his Letters. On second Consideration therefore, these *malapert* Talkers did not do the Nation any great hurt; for they raised that *Spirit* in both *Houses*, which produced those *noble Resolutions* that are to be the Conditions, *sine qua non*, of the next Peace. The Nation therefore is the *better* for their *Impatience*, tho' as yet they have got *nothing* by it *themselves*; so that all honest Men have reason to be thankful that the *Testy Gentlemen* before-mentioned did not carry their Point; since, if they could have *tied up* our *Tongues* at home, while the *Dons* were *cutting off* our *Ears* abroad, we should have been *pitiful Spectacles* at the long-run. But perhaps they will say, that these *Talkers* exercise their *Talent* now they have gained their *End*, and will not suffer their *Clacks* to lie still, when there are *Two Hundred Ships* in *Commission*. This is really a *Hardship*, and I believe those who *complain* of it *feel* it; wherefore tho' I am conscious to myself, that the *Disease* will not admit of an im-

mediate Cure, I am willing to help them to the best *Palliatives* I can.

I must premise, that whatever these *Babblers* say, is either *Truth* and *Reason*, or *Falsehood* and *Folly*. In either Case, I shall show you, that Forbearance is the *best Remedy*; I mean *best* for the Men in *Power*; for as to the *Creatures* of *Power*, I will not venture to assert that it is *best* for them. Now if what these chattering People say be consistent with *Truth* and *Reason*, then *Persecution* is the only way to make them *prevail*, as bringing *Metals* to the *Test* is the surest Method of fixing the *Worth*. This the *Nature* of *Things*, if you examine it, will evince; but if this be too tedious a *Process*, you may recur to *Experience*. Consider what the *Papists* got by *burning* in Queen *Mary's* Time; consider what the *High-Church Men* got by *Censures*, *Imprisonment*, and *cutting off of Ears* in the Days of King *Charles I.* reflect on the *Conduct* of the *Tories* in the Reign of *Charles II.* remember the strange Turn made by some *Whigs* in the Reign of King *William*: I will not bring Things lower, for fear any Man's *Prejudice* should hinder him from perceiving *Truth*. But sure I am, that whoever ruminates on all, or any of these, will plainly see, that *Power* cannot get the better either of *Truth* or of *Reason*, tho' they may demolish the Men who maintain them. *Power* put to death the Lord *Russel*, but it could not make *disinter-*
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ested People believe him *guilty*. It was the Effects of *Power* which brought the younger *Hampden* within *sight* of *Death*; and yet he lived long enough to see that *Power* overthrown, and a *new Government* erected on those *Principles* which so much Pains had been taken to *crush*.

BUT suppose it was possible to stop the *Mouths* of *Men* who do not speak *Lyes*, and tie the *Hands* of such as do not *write Libels*, it would notwithstanding be both an useless and dangerous Adventure; for by giving such a sudden Check to *Men's Thoughts*, you would either totally *damp* and *deject* their *Spirits*, or you would drive them upon *Extremities*. But consider a little, if the *Bulk* of the *People* (and the Talking of a *few* is what no *wise Men* would mind) should be *dispirited*, they would be of little use even to those who *govern* them. As on the other hand, if they should be render'd *outrageously disaffected*, they would not be very easy to *govern*. On the whole therefore, if *Men* talk *Truth* intemperately, the wisest way is to *let them talk*, and to *profit* by what they *say*. By this means, they will *waste* their *Spirits*, and grow *calm*, by that time you have rectified your *Mistakes*, which would be a means of bringing every body into *Good-humour*. But to pass now to the *other Side* of the *Question*.

LET us, for Argument's sake, admit it to be practicable, that a Set of artful Politicians

should, by *Fictions* and *Falshoods*, so work upon the *Minds* of the *People*, as to induce them to murmur against an *upright Administration*; I say that, even in this Case, the true *Friends* of that *Administration* would be against making use of violent Remedies. For in the *first* place, it would fasten on a *good Administration* the *strongest Characteristick* of a *bad one*, which is an Inclination to *persecute*. All the *evil Ministries* that have ever existed here, or any where else, have never failed to make use of their *Power* in *one Case*, to defend the *use* they made of it in *another*. But it does not appear that, at the long-run, this stood them in any stead. They neither preserved themselves longer in *Authority*, while they were *living*, nor have they escaped *Censure* the better since they were *dead*. Every body knows what vindictive Things were written and printed too, against King *Charles II.* and his Court, when the *Press* was under a legal Restraint, and at what a Price those very Pieces now sell, collected together in a *large Folio*. Is not this a demonstrative Proof, that Persecution is a *bad Remedy*, even if it could be justify'd; and that it can serve only to render an *innocent Ministry* suspected. Besides, does it not take from the *Friends* of the *Ministry* the fairest and most favourable Opportunity of rendering themselves useful and acceptable, by *wiping off* these *Stains*, and shewing the *Iniquity* of such *Aspersions*?
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Can we possibly suspect that a good Ministry should want such Friends as have Zeal enough to undertake, or a wise one Creatures able to vindicate their Conduct? Why then should these Men, to spare themselves a Labour, which would be justly recompenced too; (for good Administrations are always grateful) put a Government upon defending themselves by that Method which is the constant Resource of such Governments as have no other Defence. If, in answer to this, it be alledged, that the best Things written in defence of the best Ministries, are but indifferently received, I must say plainly, that this is not only begging the Question, but giving up, in the most scandalous manner, the Cause of Truth and Virtue, by granting that the Bulk of Mankind cannot distinguish between Right and Wrong. There is indeed more in this than at first sight appears; because the talking in this Style is certainly insinuating, that the Nation is fit for Slavery; for when Mankind are so degenerate, as to mistake their Benefactors for Tyrants, and lose their Senses to such a degree, as to reap no Benefit from the Endeavours of such as, with Freedom and Decency, attempt to set them right, they may be consider'd as a Kind of Beasts; which is the best Argument for treating them as if they were such. It is therefore a reasonable Presumption, that those Men are no Friends to the Liberties of a People, who represent them as incapable of making

making a *right use of Freedom*. Crowns are taken from Kings when *they are unworthy* to wear them ; and it implies a great *Disrespect* of a *free People*, to suggest they have not a *proper Sense of their Condition*.

THE single Argument I have ever heard used in support of *such Restraints*, is, That the *Heats of Faction* are injurious to the *Nation*, and that it is for the *Good of the People*, the *People* should be *restrained*. Yet this is a mere Fallacy, a playing with Words, and treating the *major Part* of a *Nation* as if they were *Children*, and *Children* not *over-sharp*. For amongst a *free People*, who has a *Right to controul the Majority*? or which is more to the purpose, How, on their own *Principles*, can such a *Right* arise? The *Bulk* of a *Nation* have no Weapons but their *Tongues*. They cannot hinder an *Administration* from concluding *Peace*, or from carrying on a *War* ; and of consequence, if an *Administration* has skill enough to do *either to purpose*, they may *show* it in *spite of the People's Teeth*. I hope there is no *Prostitute* living, who would assert, that where this Skill is *wanting*, the *People's Tongues* ought nevertheless to be *tied*. It may be, and I believe it is impossible to *please a whole Nation* ; but I think it a more glaring Impossibility, that the *greater Part* of a *Nation*, which is the Thing supposed in the Objection, should, without *Bias* from *Interest*, and *unaw'd by Fear*, mistake their
Friends

Friends for their *Enemies*, and become such *Bedlamites*, as to make those *political Restraints* necessary, which some *Folks* contend for. Sure I am, that all *Overtures* of this sort in *Britain*, are indecent and disloyal, dangerous to the *Peace* of the *Publick*, and of a Nature bordering upon *Treason*. For which Cause I persuade myself, that whatever looks this way, comes from the hands of *private Men*, who, from a *natural Violence* of Temper, incline rather to *imprison* than *answer* an *Opponent*, and, without knowing or considering our *Constitution*, use those Arguments in *favour* of their *Friends*, which, if their *Friends* were to *read*, they must be ashamed of.

I the rather venture to say this, because I am confident it may be proved from the whole *Current* of the *British History*, that whenever a *Government* has been *overset*, it has been by the *Ill-Conduct* of its *Friends*, and not by the *Power* or the *Art* of those who *opposed* it. For that *Government* is a *Trust* in those who have the *Management* of it, and not at all their *Property*, is a *Proposition* so thoroughly known and so universally understood by the *Inhabitants* of this *Island*, that all the *Eloquence*, all the *Arts*, all the *Contrivances* of the most *consummate Politicians* will never be able to *alter* their *Opinions*, or bring them to think those *Men* worthy of *Trust*, who should discover *themselves* to be in contrary Sentiments. This

is a great and necessary *Truth*, a *Truth* which, as the *People* will always *remember*, so it will be dangerous for any *Ministry* to *forget* it, and an Act of very great *Imprudence* in their *Dependants* to *contest* it. A good Reason, that in a Discourse like *this*, it should be freely spoken of, as well as other *publick Points*, which it would be injurious to the *People* to suffer any *Mist* longer to surround. An *artificial Way* of *talking* about *political Points*, which may seem to *mean* one thing, and in *Reality* intend another, may be very suitable to *such* as have in view the promoting *Designs* which it would not be *prudent* to own. Whereas, in a *Country* of *Freedom*, if a Man has *nothing* at *heart* but the recommending a *sincere Love* of *Liberty*, and a publick-spirited *Zeal* for the *Constitution*, he is certainly in the *right* to express *himself* as *clearly*, as *fully*, and as *distinctly* as he can; because, in such a Case, he is sure of having the *more Friends*, the *better* he is *understood*; since pleading the *common Cause* is a natural way of entitling one's self to *common Favour*; a thing despised only by *such* as are conscious they can never *acquire* it, as we see *Prostitutes* make a *Jest* of *Reputation*, because it is a thing quite out of their *reach*.

ON the Whole, I hope I have put it out of *Dispute*, that every *Freeman*, that is, every *Individual*, in a *free Nation*, who has *Common Sense*, hath a *Right* to use that *Common Sense* in examining, in a *decent* and *becoming* manner,

ner, the *Measures* of the *Government* under which he lives : That he may *express* his *Thoughts* upon these *Subjects*, as a Member of Society, wherever he pleases; and that his *Duty* requires him to *express* them, if he be a Member either of the *publick* and *general Council*, or of a *private* and *particular one*, if he thinks his expressing them of *consequence* to the *Publick*; and I likewise hope, I have made it clear, that it is by no means the *Interest* of any *British Administration*, to have any *Thoughts* of circumscribing the *Liberties* of their *Fellow-Subjects*, within a *narrower Compass* than they found them. My View in doing this was, I am sure, just and right, and not with the least Intention of prejudicing *particular Persons*, or serving the Purpose of any *Party*. We have too often been, as a *Nation*, the Bubble of designing Men; but as there is a real Difference between *Sedition* and *publick Spirit*, so, I hope, the *Odium* which ought to follow the *former*, will never be brought to stick upon the *latter*. The Conduct of a *Faction* is always heady and violent, grounded on the *Cant-Terms* invented by their *Leaders*, and not on any intelligible *Causes*; whereas the Efforts of *publick Spirit* are *legal* and *lasting*; and tho' at first they may not appear very considerable, yet they become so by degrees, and always *overcome* in the *end*. They are promoted, not by *Railing*, but by *Reasoning*. They op-

pose *Power softly and steadily*, and they never rise to any degree of *Vehemence*, but where their *Success* requires it ; such are the *Struggles* for *Liberty*, and so easily may they be distinguished from the *Starts* of *Licentiousness* ; to which we may add another infallible *Characteristick*, viz. That the *Honest* of all *Ranks* are influenced by *publick Spirit*, and the *Peasant* is as much and as good a *Patriot* as the *Peer*.

As the *Stars* disappear when the *Sun* rises, so when *publick Spirit* discovers itself in any *Nation*, it unites, or rather swallows up all *private* and *particular Parties*. For it is only while Men despair of carrying *publick Points*, that they apply themselves to such *narrow Concerns*, as when there is no hopes of saving the *Ship*, all busy themselves in *seizing Planks*. But as the *Sailors* would immediately quit all *Attention* to these *Slender Securities*, if a favourable *Opportunity* offered of saving both *Vessel* and *Cargo* ; so where a *People* are split into many *Parties*, each pursuing a *separate Purpose*, if any *Set* of *Men* espouse the *Cause* of the *Publick*, and propose in general the *Redress* of all that is *wrong*, this quickly becomes the *common Cause* : Men are asham'd not to appear *for it*, lest they should be thought *against it* ; and so all who have not a hand in *oppressing* their *Country*, express a *Desire* of having some *hand* in her *Relief*. It was so at the *Restoration*, it was so at the

the *Revolution*, and it will be always so in Disputes between the *Possessors of Power* and the *Possessors of Property*, who have a *legal Right to Power*. It signifies nothing therefore to talk as some Men do, of the *Impossibility* of uniting opposite Interests, and of making a temporary Concern the Band of Union amongst divided Parties; because this is a mere *Jargon*, which can deceive no sort of People but those who have lost their Senses, or are willing to conceal their *Possession* of them; because Reason and Experience tell us, that whenever the *Apprehensions* of all *Parties* come to *overbalance* their *Prejudices*, they will be disposed to a *sincere* and *solid Coalition*. When they are thus disposed, they are immediately under the *Influence* of *publick Spirit*, and all that Zeal which particular Persons formerly express'd for *private Purposes*, is thenceforward determined to *that* which can be alone the *Interest* of all *Parties*, viz. the *Pursuit* of the *publick Good*. This is the *Band of Concord*, this is that *Tye* which holds them together; and so it will be found, when Experience shall break through all the *Cob-web Distinctions* of servile Scribblers, who say any thing, and every thing, in a *Cause* which would be best served——by *saying nothing*.

THESE Considerations led me to assert, in the Beginning of this *Pamphlet*, that the present Age was not destitute of *publick Spirit*. The Complaints we hear, are not the idle
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Murmurs of a fantastick People, or the partial Prejudices of a Party. We hear of no Cant Words now which have several Meanings; but when People find fault, they declare plainly and roundly what it is that gives them offence. It is true that there are a Variety of Complaints, because every Man complains of the Mischief he feels most, or discerns best. The Merchant is uneasy on the Head of Trade, the Landed Man complains of Taxes, the Rich are apprehensive, the Poor are already distressed; the Law, which ought to keep us all in order, hath, some way or other, lost that inherent Dignity, which drew universal Respect. This is the true Cause why Tumults are so frequent, and why every little Grievance produces Riots. The Vulgar are never diffident, but when their Betters express a Jealousy of what is doing. These are the first Workings of a publick Spirit; and, as it becomes stronger, it will take a proper Course; that is to say, it will keep in a legal Channel. A Faction proposing to itself the Benefit of a Part of the People, at the Expence of the rest, will consequently deviate from the Rules of Justice, and the Constitution, because in Reality it regards neither. But when publick Spirit animates the Body of the People, they tread cautiously in the beaten Path, which having been worn by the Feet of their Ancestors, they know to be the High-Way to Justice. It is the Sense of this

that governs their *Actions*, their *Thoughts* and their *Expressions*, which are alike full of *Duty* to their *Sovereign*, *Submission* to the *Laws*, and *Regard* for the *publick Peace*. Where these *Signs* appear, we may, without *Hesitation*, pronounce that there is no seditious *Design* at the bottom, but that the *Meaning* of such *Men* is to be found in their *Declarations*, which, as *Freemen*, they have a *Right* to make, which, as *good Subjects*, they are bound to make, and which will ever be *acceptable* to the *best* of *Kings*.

A Desire of setting these *important Articles* in a clear *Light*, for the sake of plain well-meaning *People*, who would support *Truth*, if they knew where it lay, was the sole *Motive* to the *Publication* of these *Pages*; and I do hereby enter my *Protest* against all *Representations* of this *Pamphlet* as a *Piece* written in the *Service* of any *Party*, or with a *View* to prejudice any *Set* of *Men*, except such as, by an insolent *Way* of *Talking* and *Writing*, have justly alarm'd his Majesty's *true* and *faithful Subjects*, by ridiculing his *bravest* and *most successful Officers*, representing our *Senators* as *Disaffected*, and taking such *uncommon Liberties* with the *City of London*, as are not to be paralleled by *Practices* in the *worst* of *Times*. A *Purpose*, which, if *Common Sense*, the *Rules* of *Decency*, or the *Laws* of our *Country*, can render any thing *laudable*, certainly is so, and will appear otherwise in the
Eyes

Eyes only of such as have lost all Sense of the Respect due to these *Authorities*, and are devoted to the Service of their *private Interests*, at the Expence of *Truth, Justice, and Good Manners*.

FINIS

